1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 If a man of the Father's party desires to count his war honors he stops out in front of the dancers. The men stop and go to their proper places; the song stops and the man tells his deed of valor. At its close the responsive cry is given by the people; then the song begins again and the dance is resumed.

Sometimes one of the Children has not been able to catch the horse [21] he intends to give away. He comes forward with his little child, who carries a small stick and hands it to the chief, who turns it over to the assistant chief, who passes it on to the record keeper. The child is blessed with the corn.

●735 At any time during this dance of thanks a poor person can come *796 up to the consecrated child who is sitting in front of the chief and take away the robe that is on it, for the robe has been put on the child as a gift to the poor. When one robe is taken, the assistant chief places another robe on the child, and it often happens that several robes or blankets are given away to the poor in this manner.

*796 After a time one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Son rises and asks if all have made their gifts. This is a signal that the end is near. Finally, some one of the party of the Son rises and says, "Father, you must be tired; end this!" and he makes the sign with his hands [20] which signifies cutting off, and the dance stops. Sometimes only the sign is made, but generally the words are spoken.

Then the prominent men of the Fathers and of the Children enter the lodge for the final ceremony.

FOURTH DIVISION. PRESENTATION OF THE HAKO

TWENTIETH RITUAL

PART I. BLESSING THE CHILD

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

At the close of the dance of thanks the Children scatter in every direction, but the leading men enter the lodge and sit down at the south side. The Son sits either in the middle of the line on the south, or in his proper place just south of the entrance, near the door.

The consecrated child is taken by the chief behind the holy place. The two dancers advance to lay down the feathered stems, one at each side of the little child, the brown-eagle feathered stem toward the north, the white feathered stem toward the south. Then they remove the downy feathers from their hair and give them to the Ku'rahus, who ties them on the feathered stems.

The Ku'rahus then girds the robe about his waist with the hair rope and lifts the brown-eagle feathered stem. His assistant takes up the white-eagle feathered stem, the chief, with the cat skin and the ear of corn, steps between the Ku'rahus and his assistant, and the

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
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their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt, starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 250 men and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous. He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively, and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes, the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be destitute.

The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis, making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement could they be protected from their enemies and brought under proper subjection themselves."

Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1859, was literally "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee. The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position where they became more and more anxious to make some further trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance. This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways. Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs, as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes. In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood, agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 16, 1853, "these Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska River pass through their country, and on the south side of that river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation; whilst others that suffer much less in that way are liberally compensated..."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major smallpox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it "very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians... by which their limits may be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants... terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte. white settlers being all about them.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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white settlers being all about them. The whites were encroaching on their lands north of the Platte. The buffalo was scarce. Disease had reduced them to a handful. Their pleas to the government to make some arrangement for their future were unanswered. At intervals they did not have the representation of an agent. Samuel Allis wrote on behalf of the Pawnee to the Superintedent at St. Louis. The document credits him with being "interpreter", but there was no official status to such a position among the Pawnee at that time. The truth is there was neither agent, nor missionary, nor teacher, nor farmer, among the Pawnee officially, and that Allis, faithful to the people among whom he had worked, took the matter into his own hands. He wrote that the whites were settling close around the Pawnee and using up their timber, and that the Pawnee deeply resented the government purchase from the Omaha of lands along the Platte River from Shell Creek to Beaver Creek, which had from ancient times been Pawnee territory. He advised that they be met in council the next spring.

THIRD PERIOD: 1857 TO 1876

The treaty which was drawn up with the Pawnee on September 24 of the following year at Table Creek in Nebraska Territory, ushered in the third period of Pawnee history in the 19th Century, which closes with the removal of the tribe from Nebraska to Oklahoma in 1874 to 1876. During this period the Pawnee were again settled north of the Platte River, this time on a reservation, as wards of the government.

This treaty was the third step in governmental Indian procedure. The conditions initiated by the original treaties of "peace and friendship", and the first cessions of land, had now brought results favorable to the needs of the white men. The treaty of 1857 ended the independence of the Pawnee forever. They yielded their roving freedom, ceded their lands, and acknowledged in the treaty their "dependence" on the United States. These things they did willingly enough: they had been petitioning the government for years to effect such an arrangement. But it was a willingness born of desperation, born of the necessity of extricating themselves from a network of conditions which made existence well nigh impossible. By the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee admitted their cultural and economic defeat, and resigned themselves to the inevitable guardianship of the government. The provisions of the treaty were many and detailed; its major objective is rendered, however, in the first two articles. Article one provides that the Pawnee cede

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 300 individuals went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxki[x] band. They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. The desire to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter; the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. The Pawnee were said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

224 With the grey dawn of morning, the camp, as usual, is astir. By
484 the time our little party have turned out of our blankets, some of
the Indians have already finished eating, and are catching up their
[462] horses and preparing to ride off over the bluffs, leaving the squaws
to take down the lodges, pack the ponies, and pursue the designated
line of march. Before we are ready to "pull out," most of the ponies
have been packed, and a long, irregular line of Indians is creeping
across the level valley, and beginning to wind up the face of the
bluffs. The procession moves slowly, proceeding at a walk. Most
of those who remain with the column are on foot, the squaws lead-
ing the ponies, and many of the men, wrapped in their blankets,
and with only their bows and arrows on their backs, walking briskly
● [735] over the prairie, a little to one side. These last are the poorer Indians
—those who have but few horses. They travel on foot, letting their
horses run without burdens, so that they may be fresh and strong,
whenever they shall be needed for running the buffalo.

224 Side by side, at the head of the column, walk eight men who carry
778 the buffalo staves. These are slender spruce poles, like a short lodge-
484 pole, wrapped with blue and red cloth, and elaborately ornamented
with bead work, and with the feathers of hawks, and of the war
eagle. These sticks are carried by men selected by the chiefs and
doctors in private council, and are religiously guarded. Upon the care
of these emblems, and the respect paid to them, depends, in a great
measure, the success of the hunt. While borne before the moving
column, no one is permitted to cross the line of march in front of
them.

224 Close behind the staff bearers follow a number of the principal
484 men of the tribe; the head chief, old *Pĭta Le-shar*, and a dozen or
[522] fifteen sub-chiefs or head men, all mounted on superb horses. Be-
hind them comes the camp at large, a fantastically mingled multitude,
marching without any appearance of order. Here most of the in-
dividuals are women, young girls and children, for the men who
accompany the camp usually march singly, or by twos and threes, a
little apart from the mob. Most of those rich enough in horses to
be able to ride at all times, are scattered over the prairie for miles
in every direction, picking up the small bands of buffalo, which have
been passed by the scouts as not large enough to call for a general
surround. The hunters are careful, however, not to follow too close

Next they planted the beans, sometimes in the same hills with the corn so that the vines could entwine themselves around the cornstalks. If they planted them in separate hills, they set in willow sticks for the vines to cling to. 244

Last of all, they planted pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons [*Citrullus, citrullus* (L.) Karst., indigenous variety—Gilmore, 1919, pp. 120–129.]. These were planted in separate patches and served to separate the different varieties of corn in order to preserve the breeds. There would be a planting of blue corn, then a pumpkin patch, then spotted corn, then a melon patch, and so on in this order. [243]

Between two adjacent fields, there was a hill or ridge where the sunflowers grew by themselves without planting. Some women surrounded their fields with a fence built of stakes connected with rawhide ropes. Disputes about the boundaries of their fields sometimes occurred among the women. Some women would pile the earth further and further on the far side of the field and encroach on the field of a neighbor. Some women stole crops, whereupon arguments would ensue and they would curse one another and call one another names. The woman from whom the corn had been stolen would strike the other woman with her hands or with a stick. The informant said that stealing was actually unnecessary, as a poor women could easily get some corn by appealing to her neighbor directly, saying, "I want you to take pity on me and give me some corn." 241 423 578 [417] [476] [735]

Women always went to the fields in groups for their own protection; the Sioux made a particular point of attacking and scalping them as they were going into the fields or coming home. This was presumably to exert sufficient pressure to chase the Pawnees from their territory and induce them to abandon it entirely. The mortality among the women from this cause was heavy. In 1861 in one such attack eighteen Skidi women were killed. One group of women would say to the other, "We're going to clear our fields, how about you?" Then the two groups would set out together, any woman who finished first helping the others so that all would be ready to return at the same time. The young men, without being told, knew that this was the time to picket around the fields. 241 476 722 648

In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each of the mature women had at least one field. Clear Day, the younger wife, and her mother, Blue Calico, worked one field together, as was customary with mother and daughter until the younger woman was considered responsible enough to manage her own. Fields were located along the bottomlands on both banks of Beaver Creek, and some women had a closer and a more distant field. The ones that were closer to the villages were, of course, the more desirable both for transport and for military reasons. An individual field was from half an acre to one and a half acres in area. 241 423 592

Patterns of cooperation were well developed in each household so that the women would get through quickly. Queen Woman would say to 592

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

555 231 [735] [556] [174] universe. The Pawnees had great contempt for extreme poverty and raggedness, but no great desire or awe for wealth in large quantities. Historically the likelihood is that the cooperative social patterns of the Pawnees go back to a time when practically every person had an important function in the material economy, while a person of outstanding value was one who had special insights and knowledge.

342 281 But for all the value the Pawnees placed on knowledge and the things of the spirit, a tent was an absolute necessity as they traveled over the country. The making of the tent skin was one of their most complex technical achievements. It was a major enterprise to get one made, which had to be anticipated at least two years in advance. Eight skins had to be accumulated over four successive hunting periods—a summer hunt, a winter hunt, and on the following year again, a summer and a winter hunt. Sinew of eight buffalo for sewing the skins together also had to be saved. As signs of wear would appear in their tent skin, a woman would remind her husband of their need. Then he would set aside two good skins in each of the four seasons. The average life of a tent skin was no more than ten or twelve years.

463 281 Seven buffalo hides were used to make the body of the tent; an eighth was cut up for gussets, loops for the pegs at the bottom, and a double thickness at the door. In order to fit the skins together in the smoothest and most economical way and to arrange the pattern of the applied parts, a woman specialist in this field had to be called in to supervise the work. There were only a limited number of women with such knowledge in the tribe. In addition, it would take four or five women working pretty [461] steadily for three or four days to do the actual sewing of the skins. The workers all had to be compensated with gifts of dried buffalo meat, skin [437] clothing, and trade store goods that had to be purchased with buffalo products. In the course of the hunt, the hunter had to anticipate these needs as well as the need for the skins and the sinews. Payment for the work of planning and sewing amounted to at least the sale value of a good buffalo robe.

342 The same tent skin was used for both the winter and the summer hunts, but the framework was different. In winter they used the standard pointed skin tipi, supported by a frame of thirteen tall and heavy rigid poles that were leaned against one another at the top to form the conical frame. With its fire burning in the middle, this tent provided an excellent protection against the winter cold, but it was too warm for summer. For the summer frame they used a series of flexible saplings to make an open-faced shelter. The making of the heavy tipi poles was a long and difficult process and had to be planned well in advance, whereas the saplings for the summer framework could be gathered near the time of leaving for the summer hunt. Elm or willow saplings were available near the creek in the late spring or early summer and at this time the bark